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POOR RELIEF IN THE UNITED STATES.

VIEW OF A GERMAN EXPERT.

V. CARE OF CHILDREN.

IT is as true of America as of England that the care of children belongs to the most promising field of relief effort. An extensive work on the subject, which does justice to the historical development, and which sets the past and the present in a clear light, is the discussion of H. Folks in the work on American philanthropy entitled *The Care of Destitute, Neglected and Delinquent Children*. After a short sketch of the care of children up to the year 1801, which was hardly distinguished from treatment of adults, he explains the public treatment of children to the year 1875, which he designates as entirely unsatisfactory, and illustrates his statement with numerous examples. It is interesting to note that in the beginning of the previous century, as appears from a report of the secretary of the state of New York, Yates, it was thought best to use the poorhouses for children, since at that time this measure seemed progress. Yates then said :

The physical and moral education of poor children (with the exception of those in poorhouses) is almost entirely neglected. They grow up in dirt, indolence, and sickness, and many fall victims to premature death, or are taken to prison. On the contrary, the health and morality of children in the poorhouses are preserved ; they receive an education which enables them to care for themselves.

The hopes which were set upon the poorhouses, however, as would appear self-evident to our present thought, were not fulfilled ; and when, in 1856, in the state of New York, a commission publicly criticised the wretched administration of poorhouses in general, and the injury done to children by this method of shelter, the conviction slowly gained ground that poorhouses are not suitable homes for children. The efforts to remove them from the poorhouses, to which I have already

alluded in sec. iii, have gained during the last decennium in extent and earnestness. The situation is by no means so favorable as in New York, from whose poorhouses children have almost disappeared; for in 1880 almost eight thousand, and in 1890 almost five thousand, children were still found in poorhouses. But it is only a question of time when this removal will be complete. By law the retention of children in the poorhouse is forbidden in one-third of the states.

The arrangements for children correspond to those in other lands: institutional care in great orphanages, of which America possesses some of the first rank (institutional system); or in small homes (home system); family care (boarding and placing out); and the union of both the latter systems by reception of the children at first in a central place, and their transfer hence to family care, the so-called state public-school system, or the Michigan system, because it was first applied in Michigan, and now enjoys a great reputation in America. Along with the exclusively public and exclusively private care of children exists the system of subsidies from public means to private institutions.

More and more the system of family care gains in importance, although at first it was hindered in the attempt to remove children from poorhouses by the tendency to replace poorhouses with special institutions for children. At this point we see a phenomenon similar to that in France at the introduction of the *tours*; that is, an extraordinary increase in the number of children who were thrown upon public relief. The number of children received for public help about doubled in twenty years, between 1875 and 1895, while the increase of population was only 38 per cent. In the feeling of compassion for the miserable condition of the children, little thought was given to an investigation of their need. This also has been improved in recent years. In America, as in Germany, there is much discussion of the advantages of institutional relief as compared with family care, as appears in the extensive literature in Germany at the beginning of the last century. In the reports of the state boards and in the National Conference the subject is

more or less fully discussed. Theoretically the victory may be said to belong to family care; its advantages are thoroughly discussed by Mathews:

Life in a family, especially in a well-ordered rural family, prepares the child for life far more satisfactorily than is possible in an institution. In an institution the children are taught rather too much of heavenly and too little of earthly things. The atmosphere is only too well adapted to train them in dependence. Shelter is provided; food is always ready; clothing, good beds, warm rooms are at their disposal, without the least thought or care on the part of the children.

Altogether different is family care. It is said in a report of Illinois in 1899:

In a real domestic household all members of a family are bound together by reciprocal ties. In the nature of family life, persons help each other and make sacrifices in turn. There is the great world in small, and the relations of the members to each other correspond to those which the child will find in later years in society. It is a workplace, a school of labor, where daily practice in household duties prepares the child for further duties.

Family life alone can teach the children self-control, submission to the conditions of practical life, and capacity for independent action. From the standpoint of poor relief, we mention also the advantage that family care is essentially cheaper than that of the institution. If there is a reasonably general agreement that family care is theoretically the best form, this does not imply that institutions in a certain measure may not be accepted, and least of all requires us to shut our eyes to the dangers of inadequate family care. Institutions are most of all necessary for the reception of children, to observe them and to select for them suitable homes. There are many children who, on account of their character, or on account of physical or psychical defects, are not adapted to home life, or proper families cannot be found in which to place them. By the extension of the group system in the larger institutions, and by the erection of homes, the danger which attends institutional care is materially diminished. The dangers of inadequate family care are very thoroughly proved in the reports of several authors; Hebbard especially goes into the subject fully, and illustrates with many examples how unscrupulously the placing of children is often

conducted, how frequently the foster parents regard the care of the children simply as a source of income and exploit the labor power of the older children in the most shameless manner. The conduct of the society which called itself the Home Society of New York concentrated public attention on this evil; in 1898 I made a report upon it. But similar proceedings have come to light in other cities. The requirements for avoiding these dangers, which have been unanimously agreed upon in the English system of family care, and have been repeatedly discussed in the German society, are careful testing of the institutions and as careful supervision.

It is remarkable that Englishmen and Americans, who are so sensitive about state paternalism and, for example, instance the state insurance legislation as a menace to the motive of self-help, in the field of relief are ready to demand state supervision, and discover in this the best protection against abuses. In sec. ii I have already alluded to this subject. The experiences which led to the introduction of state boards repeat themselves in the care of children and lead to the demand for the subjection of this branch of relief, whether by public or private benevolence, to the supervision of general boards or special bodies appointed for the oversight of children. Such oversight has been introduced in recent years in various forms. In 1897 this duty was assigned to the board of state charities of Indiana, and extended to all public poor relief on behalf of children. It has succeeded admirably in helping to place children in families. Thus, apart from its supervision of children, 618 of them have been directly placed in homes by agents of the board. A law recently passed^{*} supplements the activity of the central board by special local boards, apparently with happy results.

In every county of the state a board of children's guardians, consisting of three married men and three married women, is established. The members of the board are chosen by the county court and serve voluntarily for honor. Each member is chosen for three years. The board is charged with the duty of supervising and caring for neglected and dependent children under

^{*} *Indiana Bulletin*, March, 1901, p. 9.

fifteen years of age. It is authorized to take under its oversight: all abandoned and neglected children, or those mistreated by their parents; children who beg upon the streets; children of drunkards or of vicious parents, and of those incapable of educating children; children who are found in vicious and immoral surroundings; children who are to be described as morally imperiled; vagrants and youthful criminals. The board is authorized by the county court to place such children in orphanages or to apprentice them, or otherwise to control them, without needing the consent of the parents. As soon as it comes to the knowledge of the board that a child under fifteen years of age is forsaken, purposely neglected, or habitually mistreated by his parents or his legal guardians, or by their knowledge or consent goes out to beg, or that the parents of the child are frequently intoxicated; then is it authorized to step in and transfer the child, by legal process, to an institution or family care. Parents or guardians of the child are obliged to bear the costs when they are able, and if they refuse may be compelled by legal process. The board of county commissioners is to erect and maintain a house for the temporary reception of children who are under the supervision of the board of guardians. It has to pay for the necessary assistance and for maintenance, with the exception of the cost of food and clothing, which is borne by the guardians under a contract. The boards of guardians are to give reports to the board of state charities, as desired, for which purpose the required forms and means are furnished. The range of duties of this new board, as we have seen, extends far beyond the oversight of dependent children, to include the entire care of children, even of the neglected.

The report from Illinois for 1899 urgently recommends to the legislature the establishment of a state board of children's guardians which shall be invested with similar powers to those of the board in Indiana.

New York passed a law April 14, 1898, especially to regulate the state supervision of children placed in families. All individual persons and societies, whether private persons or public officers, are forbidden to place children in families unless they

are authorized by the state board to do so. The authorization is conferred after investigation, and can be withdrawn for weighty reasons after a hearing given to the party concerned; and particularly the board may refuse permission, if individuals or societies place the children in families for purposes of gain or without thorough investigation; against this decision appeal may be taken to the court. Registers must be kept accurately of name, age, and relations of the children, and information regarding the foster families. The state is charged with the oversight of children placed out up to their sixteenth year. In 1898 Michigan passed a similar law.

Of essential importance for the entire development of child-helping work in America, as in England, is the activity of private societies like the children's aid societies. Such societies exist in most of the large cities. The most important is in New York; it will soon round out its first half-century of work. Its last report, the forty-eighth (1900), shows a variety of efforts and the powerful influence which it has exercised upon the conditions affecting youth in the state of New York.

Help is afforded according to the individual case in many forms: indoor or outdoor relief, training for a calling, improving the health by summer outings, etc. Principally, however, the effort of the society is directed to removing children from the crowded city and placing them in the country under wholesome conditions of life, as apprentices or as foster children; an effort which, in view of the increasing current toward the greater cities and industrial centers in America, has great significance, and is worthy of thought in similar situations in Germany. In the last year 581 children were sent to the country, of whom 326 found homes and 255 boarding places for payment. From neglected families came in all 1,013 persons, mostly children, for whom in the state of New York work or other help was found through rich supporters, so that a total of 1,594 persons were removed from the city to the country. Of 245 children intrusted to the institutions, 170 were placed in families, the others returned to their relatives. In spite of the greater cost of the care exercised in selection and control required by the placing system, and

although the conditions of life surrounding them were more wholesome and more helpful to the development of the children, yet the cost of family care in the country fell greatly below that of institutions in the city; a child in a city institution costs yearly \$120, as against \$35 for rural family care. Two hundred and fifteen children were taught in the farm school in order to prepare them for positions in the country. From the farm school were sent 573 pupils, of whom 316 found situations; the others had left the school for various reasons or were returned to their relatives. The society possesses twenty-six day and evening schools, which in the past year were attended by 14,615 pupils, with a daily average of 7,063. Three of the schools have special classes for crippled and defective children, for which special teachers and attendants are employed. The children are brought in conveyances to the school, and returned to their homes in the same way. These auxiliary classes prove themselves very helpful, since needy crippled children grow up generally without instruction and frequently without adequate care.

Of greater importance are the visits which the teachers make in the homes of their pupils, in order to gain insight into their surroundings and to regulate attendance upon the schools. In the year 1899, 17,970 such visits were made, with the result that 1,043 truant children were referred to the society, and 7,583 cases of extreme neglect were made known and help secured from the society. The lodging-houses of the society offered temporary shelter to 5,163 boys and girls; the average daily population being 413. For 797 of these children positions were found, 215 went to the farm school, and 133 returned to their relatives. The great extent of summer care may be illustrated by the following figures of last year's work: in the summer home Bath Beach there were in the summer months 6,508 children, of whom 3,955 each had one week; in the convalescent home on Coney Island 7,358 mothers and children, of whom 3,122 had each a week; for recreation at the Boy Farm School 1,810 boys a week each. The receipts of the society, which are derived from large gifts and subsidies, reached in the last year \$382,537, of which there came from the school authorities, in

1899, \$58,304; in 1900 (six months), \$29,152; from the city of New York, in 1899, \$23,333; in 1900, \$44,386. The highest private gift was \$25,000. Of the expenditures, which equaled the receipts, the schools took \$165,174, out of which the salaries of school inspectors, teachers, etc., absorbed \$113,199; the summer outings, in all \$28,472; and the lodging-houses, including clothing, food, etc., about \$60,000.

The full report contains, in addition to detailed special reports of schools, homes, etc., a number of letters from pupils which furnish an insight into the friendly relations of teachers with their pupils, and the success of the efforts of the C. A. S.

There is probably no society in Germany which has achieved approximately as much as this society, which in the forty-eight years of its existence has expended about 40,000,000 marks (\$10,000,000). At the same time, it must be considered that the conditions in America are more unfavorable, and that, on account of the strictly enforced compulsory education law in Germany and our more common outdoor relief for children, the need for such effort is not so great as in America.

Private societies also have led the way for the legal protection of children against cruelty and abuse; the first of these was founded in New York in 1875. At present 157 of these exist, a part of which are also devoted to the protection of animals; and it is interesting to note that societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals existed in America before the organized efforts to protect children. The tendencies are the same as those of the English societies of the same name.

The New York society (report for 1898) has taken for its task the care of maltreated, neglected, criminal, and vicious children. It receives complaint for investigation, brings charges in cases made known to it, and enforces legal regulations for the protection of children. In the last year it directed its attention to fighting two pronounced evils. In the first place they deal with women who, without possessing the slightest knowledge of anatomy, act as midwives. These ordinarily draw together friends of the same stamp and establish a maternity asylum, into which, with the help of counterfeit foreign diplomas, they

entice patients. Since their knowledge is usually limited to unimportant practical art and to very skilful methods of evading the police, the natural consequence follows: frequent miscarriages, mutilation and blindness of children. They persuade the mothers of illegitimate children to give them up with a fee of from \$10 to \$20. If a child is beautiful, it is sold on the best possible terms; if it is ugly, it is simply exposed. The society has prosecuted many of these women with success, and it hopes, in connection with the County Medical Society and of more sharply defined legislation, to put an end to these shameful practices. The society has also brought to punishment the makers and owners of the so-called "fortune wheels," which are usually set up in small shops in school neighborhoods, and serve to lure money from children who enter them to buy articles for the school or for the home; they excite the gambling instinct in the children by offering worthless objects as prizes, lead them to squander their small possessions, and work such damage to their moral nature that many parents have appealed to the society for help. The results in this line have also proved satisfactory.

The children left in the care of the society are placed in institutions temporarily, or permanently placed in families; often, however, they remain under supervision with their relatives. The report contains a series of illustrations of pathetic cases in which the society was interested. During the twenty-four years of its existence the society has received 121,054 complaints, in connection with which it dealt with 363,162 children. There were 47,798 prosecutions, 44,542 verdicts were secured, 78,849 children were rescued from their old conditions and surrendered to the society for further care. In 1898, 8,283 complaints were investigated, 3,026 cases prosecuted, 2,959 verdicts secured, and 5,127 children were transferred to better surroundings. In addition, 839 cases were investigated at the request of the court. This involved 1,473 children, of whom 1,128 seemed not to belong to their field, while the remaining 345 were taken in charge. The institution itself had received temporarily 4,994 children.

The care for neglected children, which is partly included in the general laws on the subject, remains far behind the English methods, since federal legislation is not involved and the laws of particular states are decisive. There exists in the more advanced states a tendency to exclude children and youths from the prisons and receive them into reform schools, which are called, as in England, reformatories and industrial schools. The names have been changed repeatedly, because it was observed that a certain reproach was attached to all of them after a time, which was an obstacle to the success of the pupil. Homer Folks therefore proposes, in his memoir, to give the school the name of a person or of a place. In all institutions of this kind an essential factor for improvement and education is industrial training. According to the latest report of the commissioner of education, there are now eighty-eight schools of this kind. Their leaders have in mind the formation of a society of experts.

Worthy of note, in respect to the condition of the reform schools for girls, is a study of the discipline in reformatory institutions for youth. Since it was apparent that very defective administration in a number of these institutions had led to excesses, the New Jersey State Charities Aid Association sent out a schedule of questions to many schools, the result of which was given in the *Charities Review*, December, 1899. The schedule contained sixteen questions, the principal of which were: principles of discipline, ordinary methods of discipline, corporal chastisement, cellular confinement, immorality as a difficult factor in the problem of rescue, incorrigibles, special education of the officers and teachers, large institutions in contrast with the group system. From the answers sent in some of the principal typical suggestions will here be noticed: The object of education must first of all be to give the children to understand that voluntary obedience to the rule of the institution will serve their own welfare. Trespasses are to be punished only in extreme cases. Great importance is attached to individual treatment, since one method has quite different effects on children of different temperaments.

Reports are also made upon the different methods of punishment, as the employment of a book of complaints, loss of certain privileges, exclusion from recreations, withdrawal of a mark of distinction; all of which serves to spur the children to industry and good behavior. Whipping is declared by most of the directors to be injurious, and therefore to be applied only in particular cases, while solitary confinement is widely used, though in mild form. In respect to the difficult problem of immorality, almost all depends on the personality of the director. The education must be so directed as to keep the children free from unwholesome suggestions, as by means of fresh air, daily physical exercise, constant occupation of body and mind, cleanliness, and nutritious diet. On the whole, the judgment was that vices of this kind are prevented more by moral training than by corporal punishment. Of the two systems of education, the preference is given to the small group over the large institution.

The previously mentioned law of Indiana belongs here among the new legislative measures. Illinois passed a law in 1899 which raises its earlier backward legislation on this subject to a high level. The law, in its introduction, gives a general definition which includes the poor, forsaken, and neglected children, and comprehends under the latter the regular beggars, those who live in a house of evil repute or with persons of evil repute, or those who live in unfit home conditions, as of neglect, cruelty, immoral conduct on the part of parents or guardians, etc.; also children under eight years who are found peddling or singing for gain on the streets, come under the law. As in England, anyone who observes the fact is authorized to bring it to the notice of the court, before whom the parents or guardians and the child are required to appear. Children who are found in such situations, which the law carefully defines, are placed in a public institution, in family care, or with administrators of relief. Children who have committed a punishable offense may be placed in charge of a family or of a reform institution. A similar law was passed by Massachusetts in 1900, and children who have no local settlement are cared for at the cost of the

state, who would otherwise be supported by cities and towns. The law extends to all children under sixteen years of age. At the same time another law was passed that gives to the state board supervision of all children under seven years of age who are not with their parents. If the officers of the board are obstructed upon their entrance into a house where such a child is kept, they may obtain power of entrance from the court. Anyone who hinders the board in the fulfilment of this task is subject to a fine for the first offense, or, in case of repetition, to a fine or to imprisonment.

Of its kind quite unique, one may say genuinely American, is the undertaking called the George Junior Republic. It is a reform work for neglected children, and attempts to develop in boys and girls from the worst parts of New York a sense of individual responsibility and independence, economy, and regard for law. They are made acquainted with the forms and importance of organized administration, and they are taught sympathy and patriotism. The George Junior Republic is the creation of Mr. William R. George, of New York, and is a reform school on the basis of self-government. Mr. George proceeds from the conviction that neglected children, even those that come from families of criminals, cannot merely by stern discipline be made into better men, but that education by the action of the children on each other, under the intelligent direction of an adult, will ripen the best fruit. Further he believed that these children can best be educated to become useful members of civil society, if they can be placed in relations similar to those of the world at large. Here as there the means of living can be obtained only by labor. No one is required to work, but "he who will not work shall not eat." The teacher does not use compulsion, but the conditions themselves, as in real life, are compulsory. Both these thoughts, self-government and the compelling might of conditions, training to labor for support, are remarkably well carried out in the George Junior Republic and have become so conspicuous that the institution is imitated in different parts of the United States. The whole arrangement, which originated in a vacation colony which George received at his house in the

country near Freeville in 1880, and began with thirty very poor children, gradually developed into a permanent settlement with the form of a miniature state, in which the members themselves exercise police power, hold court, and administer affairs. The republic has the rights of a corporation and is conducted by a board of trustees, at whose head Mr. George stands. The means of support, since the product of the children's work naturally covers but a small part of the expense, are furnished for the most part by an association, called the Republic Association. The territory occupied by the republic contains forty acres ; it is an elevated plateau in an attractive district of the state of New York, about a half hour from the town of Freeville. On the farm are several buildings, one of which is occupied by Mr. George and his family. All the houses are built by the boys under the direction of adult craftsmen, and it is hoped that after a time all the children will be placed in small separate houses, in groups of ten to fifteen under an adult, each group with its own kitchen, table, and recreation room.

At first George made himself president of the republic and distributed the most important offices of the little state among adults. In the year 1896 these were removed from their offices and replaced by boys, since the children understood better than the men how to get along with their comrades, and the feeling of responsibility awakened in them self-respect and a striving for honorable behavior. In 1887 for the first time the president also was chosen from among them, and that for one year. By his side stands the legislature, consisting of a senate, whose members are chosen for two weeks, and the house of representatives, whose appointments have force for only one week ; so that all capable citizens can take part in the legislative work. Every occupation class elects one representative to twelve persons for the house, and also one for the senate. The laws of the republic are those of the state of New York, but amendments may be made by the legislature and the president. For every offense the citizens are brought to account. If a complaint is laid, a session of the court is called to be held in the evening. In simple police cases only the accuser and the plaintiff appear

before the judge, who alone renders a decision ; in more important instances, six jurymen and several witnesses are called, and only in complicated cases attorneys. Punishments are usually fines, work, and confinement. For repetition of an offense the punishment rises progressively. In exceptional cases other means are employed. For example, in the case of a girl, on whom no punishment made an impression, her hair was shorn. That worked wonders, so deeply did the child feel her honor touched. The incorrigible are excluded from the republic. Those who conduct themselves exceptionally well under correction are admitted earlier to freedom. The office of policeman is about the most respectable and desirable in the republic. To attain it an examination is required. The policemen are paid out of the taxes and are dressed in uniform. Each is responsible to the police board, and, like every officer, loses his position at once if he does not fill it conscientiously. He is severely punished for overlooking an offense or permitting a prisoner to escape ; and a misuse of his power brings a penalty. The longer the children remain in the republic, the less frequently, as a rule, do they need correction. While in 1896 fourteen serious offenses were registered, in 1897 but two were noted. It is remarkable that offenses which no reform school or prison was able to uproot have here disappeared.

The work of the children includes everything necessary to be done. The girls perform household work, such a washing, ironing, sewing, cleaning, cooking, etc., in which they receive instruction. The other work falls to the boys, as building, carpentering, shoemaking, bookbinding, barbering, etc., under the direction of craftsmen ; the agricultural labors are directed by farmers in the neighborhood. The citizens are required to attend school until they are sixteen years of age, daily—Saturday and Sunday excepted—from 10 to 12 and 1 to 3. For attendance each one receives weekly \$1.75, but only when they work for their support. Besides school and work there is provided plentiful recreation and mental occupation. Communication of the children with their relatives during their stay in the republic is materially restricted. At first frequent correspondence is kept

up, since they are usually homesick, but gradually it is neglected. They soon discover that their new views no longer correspond to those of their former companions. As they learn to despise their former sinful life, they can no longer value its environment. The conduct of their parents and old friends seems now to be objectionable, and if they continue in contact with the home, it loses its influence over them. When the children grow up they are placed at trades or are otherwise instructed ; but Mr. and Mrs. George keep them in mind and correspond with them. If the employer complains of the conduct of his apprentice, the latter is given earnest advice, and, if necessity arises, is brought back to the republic. Of late, in Auburn, a society of former junior republicans has been formed and holds together with fidelity and in close relationship with Mr. George.

Else Conrad, from whose article this account is largely taken, seems to be right in saying that we have here a unique and hopeful experiment whose fundamental thought may be expressed in these words :

Such poor children may be developed into capable and good citizens, not merely by punishment and by a temporarily forced change of conduct, but by the pressure of surroundings, voluntary choice, and better insight.

Of particular methods of caring for children may be mentioned, in conclusion, the summer colonies, to which great attention is given, and particularly the activities of St. John's Guild of New York.

Although the movement to establish these colonies in America reaches back to the first third of the nineteenth century, it found its first important expression in the work of a public-school teacher, Miss E. Very, in 1879, who established, with the support of a women's educational society, the first vacation school in Boston, whose purpose it was by instruction and play to act upon the children in their time out of school and withdraw them from the vicious influences of the street ; a thought which found imitation and extension throughout the whole country. Originally the vacation schools were designed for children between the ages of two and twenty years, and the program, in order to win as many children as possible, laid emphasis upon

amusement. After longer experience, the necessity of separating children according to age, work, and play became apparent; so that now, in addition to the vacation schools proper, there are also play schools and open spaces, while for the smallest children the school takes the character of a kindergarten. Children between the ages of ten and fifteen receive training in sloyd, instruction in drawing, and in natural history by means of holiday trips into the country or parks for the observation of animal and plant nature; singing, and industrial occupation, as tailoring, cooking, sewing, etc., always so far as possible adapted to the individual needs of the pupil or his home life. Not seldom the instruction in the vacation school helps to determine the choice of future vocations. The length of a course is from four to eight, as a rule six, weeks, the daily instruction usually of three hours; two courses a day are given, either successively or in the forenoon and afternoon. The place of teaching is in a room of a public-school building; the direction of affairs is in the hands of trained teachers; the daily average cost per child varies between 5 and 25 cents. In the ten New York vacation schools, which may serve as types of many, the course in 1899 continued six weeks. The average attendance per school was 426 pupils, the daily cost per child 13 to 14 cents; the total cost of the ten schools was \$17,166, of which the greater part was occasioned by the numerous experiments of introduction of new industrial occupations. Especial value was ascribed to the work in sloyd which enabled the children to make their own implements, and furnished for the school, although in limited measure, means of support. Among the objects made by the pupils are paper-knives, reels, weather-vanes, flower stands, picture frames, wooden toys, etc.

In Boston there are at present fifteen to twenty vacation schools, and, since a law was passed in Massachusetts in 1899 which authorized cities to found such schools, three municipal institutions; besides, Cambridge, Brookline, and Andover made use of this power. The vacation schools in Andover illustrate the advantages which a town with country surroundings possesses in the education of children, as contrasted with a great city.

Vacation schools have existed there since 1898; the number of pupils in 1900 was 103, with twelve teachers. The program of instruction contains, besides the ordinary branches, swimming, rowing, fishing, carpentering, building of small houses; all of which is much cheaper than it would be in the city, because wood and other materials are less expensive.

Vacation schools exist also in Newark (eleven schools, with 102 teachers), in Philadelphia (five schools), in Chicago (three, with 1,300 pupils), Cincinnati, Buffalo, Milwaukee, and other cities; in short, in all the more important cities of the United States. The last few years have seen them greatly extended. Since the summer schools have come into closer connection with the public-school system, the question has been discussed in interested circles whether their activity should be confined to the vacation period, and whether this time is adequate to carry out the program of instruction which contains elements found little, if at all, in the schools, but which for the children have decided value.

The sand-piles and playgrounds in gardens and parks are for small children, and require but one trained kindergartner for supervision. They owe their origin to a Berlin example and follow the model with fidelity. The development of the playgrounds has made such progress that the large number reached in 1898 has since been doubled.

St. John's Guild, founded in 1866, aids needy children in New York without distinction of creed, color, or nationality. It supports a hospital in the city (at present closed), the Sea Side Hospital on Staten Island, and the floating hospitals. The administration is assigned to eleven standing committees, each of which supervises a special branch. The most important, and certainly for the foreign reader the most interesting, is the Floating Hospital, which last year could survey its first twenty-five years of activity. The magnanimous bequest of a philanthropic woman enabled the society to fit out a second ship, which was placed in service in 1899. The ships are completely equipped for the reception of sick children; rooms for examinations, for invalids, for operations, bathrooms, medicine rooms

dairy rooms, kitchens, etc., are provided. A large staff of physicians and nurses supply the service. Only children under six years are admitted. In the first twelve years—1875–87—there were three trips; 1889–90, four trips; in 1891 and 1892, five trips; since then, six trips weekly. In 1900, between the sixth of July and the eighth of September, fifty-four trips were made, which were enjoyed by:

		Ship I.	Ship II.
Women	- - - - -	9,136	15,980
Children	- - - - -	13,158	23,134
Infants	- - - - -	6,341	11,420
Total	- - - - -	28,635	50,534

Together 79,169, against 62,272 in the year 1899. Baths were provided for 2,600 women, 14,479 children, and 8,930 infants; in all 26,009, against 17,138 in the previous year. Since the first trip, July 19, 1875, to July 18, 1900, ship No. I had carried 826,312 persons and furnished 81,189 salt-water baths; the highest figure reached, 11,403, in the year 1898. Including the figures for ship No. II, the total reaches 872,903. Of the entire number of the children received in 1900 48 per cent. received medical treatment; for the others the sea air and hygienic care were sufficient to restore strength and to make them capable of resisting the serious diseases of children. More than all statistics will the following little incident, which happened in the summer of 1896, bear witness to the great blessing of this unique institution for the children of New York. One of the nurses was talking with a young mother on deck and was telling her of the ship, when the woman broke in with the words: "Dear sister, do not waste your time telling me that. Rather, bring another woman here, who was never here before. Mother has told me that when I was very little, not a year old, I was very sick and near to death; she brought me out in July, 1875, when the ship made its first trip, and she says that saved my life. And now it is saving a little life in the second generation of the same family."

In the Sea Side Hospital, which has existed for twenty years, during the time from June 15 to September 8, 1900, 597 under

two years of age and 850 children over two years, 1,447 in all, with 677 mothers, altogether 2,126 patients in 21,354 days of service, were cared for. Among the mothers fifteen nationalities were represented.

The society had 920 members on April 1, 1901. The receipts and expenditures, which about balanced each other, amounted in the last year to over \$80,000.

VI. PRIVATE CHARITY.

As in England, so also in America, private charities develop in a high degree. This corresponds not only to the peculiarities of American beneficence already indicated, but also to the fact that the public poor authority is rather averse to outdoor relief, and limits itself, especially in the greater cities, to indoor relief, in poorhouses and other institutions. In sec. iii it has been shown how this circumstance influences the relation of public relief and private charity, so that the one is vigorous in the ratio that the other is inactive. Of late attention has been given to the question of dividing the functions of public relief and private charity in such a way that private charity shall receive subsidies from public means only according to fixed conditions and principles. In the autumn of 1899 a report was made by Bird S. Coler, of the board of estimates and apportionment, upon this subject, which Devine (*Charities Review*, 1899, p. 338) designates as a milestone in the history of the relation of public relief and private charity. The report is based upon careful statements on the actual conditions in the larger cities of America; in support of the judgments given the opinions of many experts at home and abroad are adduced. Of the twenty-nine great cities of America twelve give no subsidies, and most of the others give only in small measure. Only New York, Washington, and Richmond are exceptions. The majority of the opinions expressed opposition to such subsidies from public means, and emphasized the point that private charity must be supported by voluntary gifts. The great Charities Aid Association gave as its opinion that the granting of subsidies from public funds is attended with serious dangers; they tend to

diminish private charity, to weaken its energy, to mix the duties of public relief and of voluntary benevolence, and to increase the establishment of private enterprises with public assistance in an unreasonable and questionable manner. The committee of the society to which the answer of the question was intrusted reached the following conclusion: Public assistance should be given out of purely public means, not out of various sources controlled by the city; such assistance should not be applied to needy persons unless they have been referred to the public poor relief and have been sent to an institution for public care. But in such cases also all institutions for the same class of inmates should receive the same payments, and the payments, especially for the support of children, should be made according to the number aided, and not in a lump sum. So far as the city itself supports such institutions, and so long as these are not fully occupied, institutions of a similar character should not be subsidized; grants should be entirely refused to all general aid societies which have for their purpose the giving of outdoor relief.

Coler comes to similar conclusions, and declares that as soon as possible a number of stunted undertakings must be cut away with a sharp knife, so that finally the abuses growing out of public subsidies may be abolished. He lays down the principle that subsidies should be given out of strictly public means only through a budget and for services actually rendered in public poor relief, and above all that grants of lump sums must be done away with. The same view was presented by Coler at the National Conference in 1901 and received the approval of the assembly.

His proposals were largely embodied in a law passed in 1899 (an act to amend the Greater New York charter in relation to charitable, eleemosynary, correctional, and reformatory institutions). According to this law, the board of estimates grants aid to institutions which are partly or entirely of a private character only out of public funds and only on behalf of such persons as are received in compliance with regulations made by the state board. The last report of the state board remarks that this law

has already held off a number of applications and reduced the grants, which in 1898 had reached the sum of \$3,130,000; and besides these public subsidies, which were divided among 250 institutions, they received from other sources \$5,800,000. The city of Brooklyn has recently, on similar grounds, withdrawn subsidies from 40 out of 150 societies which have hitherto been receiving them. It is interesting to note, by way of comparison, that a similar result in another field, the undue multiplication of medical aid and hospitals, grew out of public subsidies.

American charity has to contend in higher measure than is true on the continent with the evils of division and absence of system. To the insight into the dangers of this condition many central societies owe their origin, which, according to the English example, are called charity organization societies. In my report 1898 (p. 54) an account is given of this institution, and especially of the provision of central buildings for the administration of private charity. I know of no other charity buildings than those already mentioned in New York and Boston. Still I may mention this arrangement again, with the hope that Berlin may also find means to provide such a structure, since it seems to me to be indispensable for every great city. The principles of charity organization societies remain essentially the same, and yet we must refer to them again and again, because, unfortunately, even in Germany they are so commonly neglected. When Johnson in his report for 1899 (p. 291) at the National Conference used the words, "In spite of the danger of being wearisome and of repeating what has been said thirty times before," everyone who works in these matters practically will be disposed with him to employ the same introduction and to repeat for the thirtieth or the one hundredth time these things, just because it is so necessary to repeat fundamental principles. Glenn, in his paper on the necessity of organization, has formulated these principles well:

A charity organization society offers itself as a central point of information, where the leaders of various enterprises may secure information about each other as well as about the poor, and as a clearing-house of activities and ideas.

It also collects materials relating to the poor and gives information to all who have an interest in them, prepares statements concerning the charitable provisions of the city, and offers a central point for obtaining counsel and help. All this is in the spirit of reciprocal confidence and with the view of repressing the abuses of charity in order to have all the more power of assisting those who are needy.

The general arrangements of these societies are everywhere similar; the chief aim being to unite the benevolent efforts and of providing particular kinds of help to serve special needs, as for example securing employment, provision of shelter and refuge for women, etc. The division of labor between standing committees is common to all, each being charged with a special task. They all emphasize the necessity of personal help and constantly renew the appeal for co-operation. The title-page of the Buffalo report is adorned with the words:

Let no one think that he can discharge his duty to the poor by contributing to the society. You can never perform your full duty to the poor through a society; what we need is personal help, and this society was founded to secure it. Our effort is, through division into districts and in other ways, to find a personal friend for every poor family, and we earnestly request all to stand by us as voluntary helpers in benevolent activity.

The societies, apart from their own enterprises, give none of their own means for support, but seek to investigate cases referred to them, and to secure means in individual cases, and to refer cases for further aid to other institutions which stand in close relations with them. The question whether the societies really adhere to this principle was discussed in the National Conference of 1900 in connection with the report by Wilson. Wilson said emphatically that the Charity Organization Society should not regard itself as an independent relief agency, since then its effort to unite all relief societies would thereby be injured, and the essential purposes of the society would be neglected.

It is worthy of note that the conviction is growing that private charity cannot meet great demands simply with voluntary helpers. Therefore the greater portion of the expenses is

paid for salaries and office expenses. In New York, out of \$58,600, \$15,761 was given for this object; in Boston, \$17,000 out of \$22,500; in Buffalo, \$2,595 out of \$8,096; in Baltimore the expenditures, \$10,719, were solely for salaries and office expenses, and the report declares that it is not a question of a relief fund, but of means to do the work described. In the same report it is remarked that the first condition of success is "to pay a just market price for a first-class agent." And yet voluntary helpers in great numbers are necessary; in this connection Boston seems to be most successful, since it has, in addition to the paid workers, about 1,000 voluntary helpers, of whose activities the report presents some remarkable examples. In the Baltimore report there is a decrease in the number of cases handled by the society, there being 5,353 in 1900 as compared with 19,072 in 1895. The report explains that one must not conclude from this fact that the society is superfluous, but rather that its principles are better understood by the entire population, and that many cases are now looked after by private charity in a reasonable way, which formerly would have been referred to the society. On the whole, the decrease in the number of cases makes it possible to deal more thoroughly with those that remain. The report from Philadelphia shows a rapid increase up to the year 1894, when there were 36,066 cases; after some fluctuations the number fell to 22,178 in 1898. The society in Buffalo has had an important influence upon public poor relief in its relations to private relief. The public relief there had reached an excessively high point, and, as could be proved, with very grave abuses, especially in the matter of extravagant grants of material relief. The budget for that purpose was reduced in 1898 from \$91,800 to \$60,000. The society recommends the entire abolition of public outdoor relief by the city, because it deadens the ambition for self-support; but it adds that in this case the private charity must take its place with a policy of encouraging self-help.

A peculiar position is occupied by the United Jewish Charities in New York, which in 1899 celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. It grew out of the same discovery of unsystematic

and divided charity to which the Charity Organization Society owed its origin; and after the experience of a quarter of a century it declares with satisfaction that its efforts have contributed materially to the diminution of these evils; but at the same time it expresses the wish to have more means and more personal service at its disposal. It also has a number of standing committees and a number of institutions of its own, among which an educational institution for girls and an employment bureau are conspicuous. The entire expenditure was \$136,332, of which \$15,949 was spent on salaries, \$5,463 on office expenses, and \$1,451 to maintenance of the house which was given to the association by a benevolent person. In single gifts for support was expended \$41,061, in continuous support \$21,938, and for transportation \$15,732. In order to form a judgment regarding the help rendered, a careful study was made of 1,000 cases for the period 1894 to 1899; from which it appeared that only 70 persons continued to receive aid, while the greater part, though not statistically measured, had become self-supporting. In 1898, 5,387 places were found, over against 9,701 applications. Of special importance is the work for immigrants, who come mostly from Russia and Austria. During 1898-99 (the highest number being in the summer months) 29,088 Jewish immigrants applied to the association, of whom 10,855 were Austrians, 16,174 Russians, 1,555 Roumanians, and 377 Germans. The immigration, which in 1888 reached the maximum of 62,574, has recently diminished. Each year the society handles a population equal to that of a medium-sized city, which arrives in America without knowledge of the language, often helpless, and by the regulations of the government threatened with the impossibility of obtaining employment. Counsel is given the immigrants even when they are not in absolute want, the destitute are relieved, and means are provided for returning those rejected by the public authorities. Up to 1890 the work was conducted for the most part by the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, to which the association in 1884 joined its efforts, with a committee which worked especially at the landing places. In 1890 the Baron Hirsch fund was founded, whose administrators

were members of the committee of the association; from this fund and from the Jewish Colonization Society, founded by Baron Hirsch at the same time, the association receives the means for assisting immigrants. In 1891-92 the Russian Transportation Society, the American Association for the Relief of Russians, and the Central Russian Refuge Committee were established, in which the central board of the association was represented. In the report the assistance of immigration authorities is praised. To the efforts of the association was due the change of classification of Jewish immigrants; while up to 1898 they had been classified by confession, from that time they have been classified, like other immigrants, according to the place of their origin.

As in England, though not to the same extent, the work of the Salvation Army has been developed in America, and has found even more favorable conditions, because there is no state church and the religious and sectarian activities have a free field. The organizer and leader of the movement in America is Booth-Tucker, son-in-law of the general. In all there are 160 organizations of the Salvation Army, among which are children's asylums, homes for women and girls, lying-in homes, public kitchens, employment bureaus, homes for discharged prisoners, nursing, workmen's colonies, and winter relief; and everywhere the tendency is not to support, but to aid, to call forth all the powers and capacity of the person who is in want and assist him to regain his independence. The principle is held that all help offered must be paid for, so far as possible, in money or work. Noteworthy are the three agricultural colonies established in Colorado, California, and Ohio, on which thirty buildings have been erected, and where about two hundred men and women have been settled, and of whom the greater number have obtained independent homes. In America, as in Europe, the current sets toward the cities, most of all to the largest, and countless unemployed are massed there, while there are far more places in agriculture than can be filled. A singular enterprise is the sending of poor families, who otherwise could never breathe pure air, to the country. In this division of the army work outings by water or land are provided, and frequently

street-car companies furnish free transportation. In Kansas City tents are set up in a park, where poor families, changing week by week, may find shelter. The work out of which the entire service of the Salvation Army has grown—work in the worst quarters of the great cities—is carried on in the great cities of America with splendid and untiring devotion. It is conducted by women, and even more by young girls, who fearlessly venture into these quarters, and, in spite of all failures, all scorn and threats, and actual danger to life, give themselves to the most wretched classes of beggars, drunkards, harlots, and criminals, in order to aid them, with patience, forbearance, and goodness, to uprightness. These girls live in the neighborhood of their work, clothe themselves in a modest way, and are, after a time, we are assured, entirely safe under the protection of the whole population of the district, where they can go about freely and without peril. Granted that the success in comparison with the great multitude is small: as examples of personal devotion and of capacity to awaken again, even in the outcast, the little spark of human feeling, these heroines of the Salvation Army are unsurpassed.

The work of the army goes beyond the boundaries of that which we are accustomed to call private charity, and approaches, especially in the last-mentioned activity, that which is called, after the English example, a settlement. The movement, of which I gave a short report in 1898, has gained in importance and extent during recent years. Henderson, in his work¹ on the subject, has carefully treated the function of the settlements. The principal effort is not in the direction of private charity, but the furtherance of social convictions, the elevation of the condition of the less fortunate classes, and the creation of means of recreation, etc. No form of work which can be useful is alien to the settlements; and so they have care of children in kindergartens and nurseries, care for youths, provision for sports, playgrounds, clubs, and places of recreation. The chief feature of the work is that persons who are disposed to render such service reside in the neighborhood which they wish to serve, and

¹ *Social Settlements*, Lentilhon & Co., New York.

pursue the purposes of the settlements by working, not only on the people, but, above all, with them. During recent years the movement has gained in solidity and clearness of purpose. In the report which the College Settlements Association issued for 1900 there is an explanation of the work from its beginning, and of the views with which the pioneers of the movement undertook the enterprise. These persons not only wished to work together with the poorer classes, but also in a spirit of devotion to leave behind them a good part of their former comforts, to live more simply, and to set a good example. There has been a complete change. The helpful disposition remains, but the purpose of identifying themselves almost entirely with the life and conditions of the poorer classes has almost disappeared. On the contrary, it is now thought that the work can be better accomplished by means of suitable and comfortable home surroundings. At the same time it is a peculiarity of the more important settlements which stand in direct connection with the universities, and therefore are called university settlements, that they become schools of social service. The report from New York says :

We seek before all to convince the people who come to us that they must first learn the conditions under which the poorer classes live before they attempt to change those conditions. So they learn by experience both the major points of the enterprise, the social field on which they labor, and the psychological and ethical purpose which characterizes the undertaking,

The settlement generally keeps aloof from poor relief and charity, although it lies in the nature of the case that in the attempt to give social help many cases are encountered in which a condition of extreme poverty must be relieved. This work is handed over to the public and private organizations which exist for this purpose. The settlement itself wishes to help others who are independent of poor relief, to spur them to self-reliance and to aid them in creating social conditions which will furnish the basis of independence and self-support. A characteristic phase of the movement is the predominance of the feminine element in the work, the administrative committee of the Settlements' Association being entirely composed of women, and

even in the university settlements the women are in the majority. The April number of *The Commons* contains statistics of settlements in all countries. According to this account there are, in America, 107 settlements; in England, 38; Scotland, 5; France, 5; Japan, 2; Austria, 2; Germany, Holland, India, and Australia, 1 each. In London there are 30; New York, 27; Chicago, 17; Boston, 11. The statistics are evidently imperfect so far as foreign countries are concerned, but even for America they are of no special importance, since there many institutions are called settlements which we comprehend under simpler names; since kindergartens, nurseries, and associations for amusements, etc., have been designated settlements. At all events, the name is of but little moment. The important thing is—and here lies the significant and effective element for the field of poor relief—that an approach of the prosperous and less fortunate classes is brought about, and all means are employed to create a condition in which poor relief and charity shall be displaced by self-help and neighborly co-operation.

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